000 was enough business to warrant the Council being called together. Then having taken the oath and signed the Register I found myself immediately leader of the "Opposition". None of us on either side of the Council had any experience of political work or of public speaking, except perhaps for one lawyer on the Unofficial side and the Attorney-General and the Director of Education on the Government side. These gentlemen were accustomed to speaking in the Court or in the lecture hall and classroom, but that was not quite the same thing as addressing a body of men who had no desire to listen to arguments presented purely in a legalistic manner or to be "lectured", however able the lecturer; so even these gentlemen held their peace, except during the Budget Meetings when our lawyer sometimes got rather carried away, occasionally to the embarrassment of his own side, a happening, so I am informed, not confined solely to Colonial Legislatures.

665 645 There were no political parties at that time in Aden, so that we none of us represented any particular political movement and were, for the most part, elderly gentlemen representative of our own communities in the Colony who had been nominated for our proven loyalty and solid worth, rather than for our [641] aptitude for politics or any particular intelligence. No attempt was made at that time to encourage the younger generation to take a responsible part in the government of the Colony. That was to come later when we had, all of us, more experience 645 and were more sure of ourselves. One of the main difficulties 563 that the Governor must have had in deciding who to nominate to represent the Arab majority of the population on the Legislative Council was that the official language of the Council was English and the common language of all the various committees was also English, and it was well-nigh impossible to find an able man of mature age among the Arabs who not only knew English but was prepared also to give up much of his time to public work. Immature lads there were, but no-one would have welcomed their appointment, least of all the more responsible members of their own community who would have had no faith in "children" as they termed them. Time was needed to mature the "children" and to accustom the grey-

Aden

I appear to have been discretion itself between 1948 and 1951; most extraordinary.

There is one other subject which, although it only indirectly concerned the Legislative Council at first, became later very much an affair of the Legislative Council, about which I shall record my own somewhat short-sighted conduct.

In 1945 the Government had raided the Municipal larder and taken over the profit-making Electricity Department and the equally financially satisfactory Water Department, and at the same time they abolished the old Settlement Authority and created a Township Authority, which was, in fact, much the same thing as a municipality but with much reduced powers. This latter was a retrograde step with which I personally was never in accord and which was generally resented, and it was not surprising that early in 1948 the newspapers began to clamour for increased powers for the Township Authority or its conversion into a fully fledged municipality. At the same time there began a demand for the election of the Members and one particular section of the Press was loud in pressing for municipal reforms of the most far-reaching character.

Now, I was not in favour of elections, believing that the time was not ripe for such a very big step forward and in consequence I found myself at variance with most of the other Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council, who favoured elections in the municipal field of politics, but not necessarily in the legislative field. However, I was not altogether alone in my opposition because Mackawwi felt much the same as I did and one morning he came into the Port Trust Office, shook hands rather limply, sat down and folded one of his long thin legs over the other and said nothing. He looked rather tired and I asked how he was feeling.

"I am not well, I have not been well since I retired from business and gave up my work; that was a very foolish thing to do," he said.

"Have you seen a doctor?" I asked.

"I have seen all the doctors in Aden and most of those in Bombay," was his answer.

"Have you followed their advice?" I inquired.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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648 their territory to any foreign power without the previous permission of the Government of India. In return we undertook to protect them from external aggression. Those were the main clauses, but there were, of course, subsidiary clauses which differed from Treaty to Treaty and which related to freedom of access to each other's territory, the protection of trade routes and similar matters. The main object of the Treaties was protection, protection from the Yemen as far as the tribes were concerned, and protection from the Yemen and the tribes themselves as far as we were concerned.

As the years went by and the buffer grew in size as more and more States came into alliance, so did our responsibilities to the people of the area grow, although it took us nearly a hundred years to realise our obligations, which we have not yet adequately discharged.

642 The States are twenty-five in number, of which the Sultanate
631 of Lahej is the senior, not only by virtue of its importance, but also because it was the first to enter into treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. They vary greatly in size from the 40,000 square miles of the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla, to the few unproductive acres of the Sultan of Bir Ali, an insignificant little sea port. The Rulers, who are either Sultans or Sheikhs or Amirs, or even Naqibs—it makes no difference to the importance of the State what title is held by the Ruler—are all independent in so far as their internal authority is concerned, and the only curbs on their power are tradition and the degree of independence of the people themselves. This latter varies with the geographical position and the
[184] nature of the terrain of the State. In the Yafa Highlands, which
•[641] are almost inaccessible, every tribesman is a law unto himself and pays little heed to the titular leader, the Upper Yafa Sultan, unless the land is in grave danger when they rally to him until the danger is passed. In the Lowlands and in the Southern plain where the States are more vulnerable, there is a greater degree of obedience by the tribesmen to the authority of their Ruler, and such is the case where tribal territory abuts on to the Yemen in open country; country where the fear of Zeidi raids is greatest.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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ing eager purchasers to make a satisfactory choice of a political garment and altering the model to suit their particular figure. It was just with this purpose in view that the Federation plan was conceived.

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In all the Western and Middle Eastern countries outside the Iron Curtain, with the exception of the temporary experiment in Egypt and the last remnant of the patriarchal conception in Saudi Arabia, governments are fundamentally democratic whether the head of State be designated Queen, King, or President, and Aden looks Westwards for guidance and inspiration.

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The contacts between the nineteenth-century Aden Protectorate and the West are daily becoming closer. Incessant broadcasts from London, Cairo and Aden itself, very different though they may be in their political approach, bring the modern West and modern Middle East into the remotest villages of the Protectorate. At the same time roads and landing grounds—of the latter there are at least eight with regular Civil Airline services, made possible by better security—have changed the mode of travel from the camel and the donkey to the lorry and the aeroplane and thereby greatly accelerated and increased personal contact with the outside world, and thus with people with Western ideas.

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In Aden Colony there are 38,000 Arabs from the Protectorate in close contact with a democratic form of government, many of whom exercise their voting right when elections to the Legislative and Municipal Councils take place. These people have become accustomed to a democratic system of government, not only in Aden, but also in countries in the West to which many of them travel. When they return to their Protectorate homes, which many of them do at frequent intervals, they find the old-fashioned autocratic rule of their Sheikh or Sultan irksome. They would like at home what they have become used to abroad, an ever-increasing say in the government of the country. At present these people are in the minority, but it will not be long before the wish of the few becomes the demand of the majority, and the wisest of the Protectorate Rulers are ready and willing to accept change and bow before the inevitable.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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in its extent and the Refinery would not have been directly involved. As it was there was general confusion, with neither side acting rationally. Labour relations, never good, became chaotic with the employers determined to fight anything in the nature of a demand, however reasonable it might be; and many of the Union leaders were equally determined to have a strike, unjustified though it might be. Members of some Unions were brought out on strike before any demands had been put forward by the leaders to the Managements concerned and without any clear idea of why they were striking.

The only measure of agreement there was between the two parties was their condemnation of the conduct of my Government. One side, I leave you to guess which, said that the whole trouble was Communist inspired, or if not actually Communist then the work of the Nationalists which was much the same thing, and anyway the strikes were purely political in cause and conduct, and were not in any way industrial. In their view Government were dreadfully weak and lamentably biased and were doing nothing when they should have been deporting the rascally political leaders disguised as Trades Union officials. They had a great deal more to say, but it all amounted to one thing, that Government was gravely at fault. The opposite party was just as outspoken and did not hesitate to describe Government officials as harsh and the police as overbearing and tyrannical and, in fact, murderers. In their view the workmen were grossly oppressed and there was a distressing lack of sympathy for the downtrodden and so on and so forth. They considered that Government should force the employers to grant every single Union demand, reasonable or unreasonable, simply because it was a Trades Union demand.

In fact, of course, we did everything we could to prevent the strikes and to stop them spreading when once they started. The Labour Commissioner worked day and night to bring the parties together and try and solve their difficulties which were, whatever anyone may say, fundamentally industrial in origin. I, myself, met both sides time and time again, but to no avail. They were beyond rational thought.

At the same time the first essential was to maintain law and

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178 to ensure ordered conditions in the Colony by a firm Govern-
666 ment policy while political changes were taking place, and at first to concentrate on the municipal field as a training ground for young men who were sufficiently public spirited to want to play their part in public affairs. The practice was introduced of nominating younger men to the Township Authorities, and in March 1953 the constitution of the Aden Township Authority was changed to allow for three of the members to be elected from the Township area and from April 1st of that year it was restored to the status of a municipality. Thus Aden came to have its first elections.

665 Careful thought was given to the qualifications of both
666 candidates and electors. There were plenty of people in the Colony who could qualify as candidates, but it was essential to encourage really good men to come forward, and this was done, with the result that the elections were a success from every point of view. They were well conducted and orderly, and resulted in three good men, all Arabs, being returned. Two years later the number of elected members was doubled.

• 641 A word about the electorate. It was essential in a place as politically immature as Aden that the franchise, while being reasonably wide, should not be too wide and certainly not universal. Only a small proportion of the population had ever voted before and they were all from overseas, either the United Kingdom or India. There were many Yemenis in the town, many of whom had a residential qualification, but comparatively few of whom were other than unskilled labourers, with no idea of the value of a vote and little real interest in Aden other than as a temporary home in which to make sufficient money to support their families in the Yemen. Property or income qualification was, therefore, insisted upon before a name could be inscribed on the electoral roll and in addition, residential qualifications for electors who were not Aden born.

Nothing would have been more ill-advised than to have given the ultimate power to people quite unfit to exercise it, who were easily swayed by political demagogues capable of passionate but irresponsible speech. The electoral net, therefore,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5-(ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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was spread with care. Later, when more understanding had come to the people and they were politically more mature, it could be spread wider by a relaxation of some of the qualifications. In practice, when some years later it was necessary to consider again the qualifications of electors when the electoral principle was introduced for the selection of some of the members of the Legislative Council, it was found that the rise in wage rates had so broadened the field that no relaxation was desirable. The day will undoubtedly come when there will be adult suffrage, but I think that that is still some way away, especially so in the case of women who are only just emerging from the cocoon of purdah.

It seemed obvious to us, even in those early days, that there should be a common electoral roll both for the Municipal and later the Legislative Council elections. No-one ever thought of having a communal roll, and I was surprised to learn that there were such things in other Colonies when I was congratulated one day by a visiting Member of Parliament on our good sense. I am afraid there was little cause for congratulation; it was abysmal ignorance combined with common sense.

The only time that any question of communal candidates was raised was in 1955 in connection with the Legislative Council elections, when it was proposed from an unofficial source that the minority communities should be given representation on the Council, not by nomination, but by the election of candidates from those communities by the electorate as a whole. This would clearly not have been in the interests of the minority communities because the candidate who made the most appeal to the majority community, the Arabs, would have won the seat and he might not have had the confidence of his community or been inclined to represent their interests when they conflicted with those of the majority of his supporters. For this very sufficient reason the proposal was not pursued.

During the first three years of my term of office changes were made in the nominated Unofficial membership of the Legislative Council. Some of the older members who had given sterling service, but who had got somewhat out-of-date, were not re-nominated when their term of office expired. They

the Attorney General, the Financial Secretary and one other Government official and six members to be nominated by the Governor in his absolute discretion. The Governor will no longer preside over the Council, his place being taken, as is only appropriate, by a Speaker.

The qualifications for electors and for candidates for election are to remain unchanged. This means that there will be no extension of the franchise and no relaxation of the rule which requires a candidate to be Aden born, or if not Aden born, to be a British subject or a British Protected person who has resided in the Colony for seven out of the last ten years. A very wise decision. Nothing could have been more foolhardy than to have extended the franchise at the present time beyond its already wide limits. To allow foreign subjects to be elected as Members of a Legislative Council would be unconstitutional in any country.

With the grant of an unofficial elected majority it is proposed to appoint five Unofficial Members of whom three must be elected Members to take charge of the Departments of Education, Public Works, Communications, Labour and Social Welfare and the Health Department. They will be known as Members-in-Charge and will be responsible for their respective Departments. Early in 1956 I introduced the practice of associating individual Unofficial Members with Departments of Government with the object of preparing them for just this sort of development. The result is that the present Unofficial Members have gained valuable experience and one can only hope that the electorate, always a trifle capricious even in England, will have the good sense to return at least some of them to the Council at the next election where their experience will be of benefit to the Colony.

The new Constitution will, of course, provide that the Governor shall exercise reserve executive and legislative powers. This is a normal procedure and essential, particularly in a politically juvenile Colony such as is Aden which has had a Legislative Council for only eleven years.

The contemplated change in the composition of the Executive Council is as sweeping as that in the Legislative Council.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1

563 fallen below Indians in numbers and influence. There has thus been a temptation for the less responsible sections of the Arab press to transfer to Indians the animosity previously stirred up against the Jews as an alien and wealthy race, extorting inflated profits from the poor ignorant Arab.

648 The feeling of solidarity between Arabs and Pakistanis has been demonstrated on the visits of H.M. Pakistani ships of war. At the same time it must be placed on record that British and Indian ships have been given most cordial receptions.

641 Some constitutional advance was made by the reduction of the property qualifications for electors to the Township Authority of Fortress, and the introduction of an income qualification, which increased the number of voters from 1,600 to 5,000. The next election will be held in March, 1951.

647 Social work has been helped by the formation of a Social Welfare
746 Advisory Council, which includes unofficial representatives of all races, and a Labour Advisory Board, also with substantial unofficial representation, has been set up.

362 The shortage of housing remains one of the most important problems facing Government. Some 280 working-class houses have been built by Government at Sheikh Othman, but these replace insanitary mat houses which were destroyed as the new buildings became available, and do not provide additional accommodation; it is estimated that at least 2,000 new houses are needed. The Government is examining new methods of cheap and rapid construction, and seeking means of financing a substantial housing programme from Government or private funds.

643 His Excellency Sir Reginald Champion, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., proceeded on leave prior to retirement in October, 1950. He served in Aden from 1928 to 1934; he was appointed Chief Secretary in 1942 and Governor in 1944.

000 Visitors to Aden included Mr. Bevin and Mr. Creech Jones, who called briefly in transit, and Sir T. Lloyd, Permanent Under Secretary of State who made a comprehensive tour of the Colony and Protectorate.

DEVELOPMENT

652 The finances of the Colony continue in a healthy condition and revenue remains buoyant. The financial year 1949-50 ended with a deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs compared with an estimated deficit of nearly Rs. 40 lakhs. Expenditure exceeded the estimate by over Rs. 6 lakhs and revenue was up by over Rs. 36 lakhs. Unfortunately it was not possible to carry out the full programme under the development plan, and expenditure on capital works fell short of that programme by Rs. 22 lakhs. The excess of expenditure over the estimate was due mainly to extraordinary expenditure on revision of salaries and rehabilitation loans, all of which were paid during 1949-50. On the other hand, the Colony's surplus balances were written down by over Rs. 20 lakhs owing to the sharp fall in the value of investments at the end of the

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MMI

Colony, and in particular to prohibit entry without a permit. Previously there was virtually no power to control immigration into the Colony. 167 671

The Official Secrets Ordinance, which replaces the Indian Official Secrets Act of 1923, and is based on the provisions of the United Kingdom Official Secrets Acts of 1911 and 1920.

The Registration of Clubs Ordinance, which provides for the compulsory registration of "clubs," as widely defined in the Ordinance. It empowers the Registrar, subject to confirmation by the Governor in Council, to refuse registration in any particular instance, and enables the Governor in Council to cancel the registration of a club. 575 671

The Civil Courts (Amendment) Ordinance, which provides for the setting-up of a District Court with power to hear proceedings of a civil nature (with certain exceptions) of a value below Rs. 2,000. For staff reasons, the Court has not yet been formed. 698 671

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In 1950 23 Ordinances were enacted of which the following were the more important : 671

The Police (Amendment) Ordinance, which enables the Commissioner of Police, with the approval of the Governor in Council, to appoint special police officers. Previously such officers could only be appointed by a magistrate when a disturbance had actually arisen or was apprehended. This gave little time for organisation or training ; special police may now be organised at any time for use should an emergency arise. The Ordinance also prohibits the wearing of uniforms in connection with political organisations or objects, and further prohibits the formation of quasi-military organisations. 625

The Registration of Persons Ordinance, which provides for the registration of all persons lawfully resident in the Colony at the time registration comes into force, and the issue to them of identity cards. The Ordinance is intended to supplement the new immigration control, under which all persons entering the Colony will be required to have a permit or pass. Registration has not yet been brought into force. 671 641

The Consular Conventions Ordinance, which confers certain powers and privileges upon the Consular Officers of foreign states with which Consular Conventions have been concluded by His Majesty's Government. 671

The Pensions Ordinance, which repeals and replaces the Pensions Ordinance, Cap. 102, and the Pensions (Subordinate Officers) Ordinance, Cap. 103, and is therefore applicable to all pensionable officers of whatever grade. It also incorporates provisions to implement the revised conditions of service in so far as the latter relates to pensions or to gratuities.

The Workmen's Compensation (Amendment) Ordinance, which increases the compensation payable in cases of permanent incapacity from 42 to 48 months' earnings. It also places an obligation on an employer to give notice to the Labour and Welfare Officer of any injury which a workman may suffer in the course of his employment. 671 466

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951: MM1 Aden

Parsee merchant was returned without a contest. The election in Crater passed off without incident.

The qualifications for a voter were British birth or Aden residence for over five years, and a property qualification (ownership of premises valued at Rs. 2,000 or payment of a rent of Rs. 25 a month). This was found to give a voters' roll of 1,660, and as this was considered too small an electorate for an estimated population of 70,000 in Fortress area, the qualifications were approximately halved by an amendment to the law in 1950, and now give an electorate of about 5,000. The present qualifications for a *voter* is Aden birth, or British birth and two years' residence, or foreign birth and five years' residence in Aden. In addition the voter must be a male, and own property worth Rs. 1,000 or pay rent of Rs. 12 a month, or have an income of Rs. 130 a month.

A *candidate* must be of Aden or British birth, and possess the qualifications of a voter.

In Sheikh Othman Township, with a population of some 25,000, the people are not so developed politically, and a fully nominated Authority is retained, with three officials and two Arab residents of Sheikh Othman as members.

The Township Authorities hold fortnightly meetings to superintend various services of a municipal character, such as the control of markets, the maintenance of public health and sanitary services, the maintenance and improvement of roads, the provision of recreation facilities for the Ade[illegible] and the control of building operations.

The Township Authorities are responsible, on behalf of the Government, for the collection of the following taxes :

House and Property Tax

Yield in 1949 .. Rs. 2,78,093.
Yield in 1950 .. Rs. 2,90,194

This tax is assessed in the Fortress at 8 per cent per annum of the rateable value and in Sheikh Othman (virtually a rural area) at 4½ per cent. Rateable value is arrived at by first estimating the gross value, which is the annual rent at which premises might reasonably be expected to let, assuming the owner undertakes to bear the cost of rates, repairs, insurance and any other expenses necessary to maintain the premises in a state to command that rent; from the gross value 10 per cent is deducted in lieu of repairs, insurance, etc., and the residue is known as the rateable value.

Sanitation Tax

Yield in 1949 .. Rs. 1,58,830
Yield in 1950 .. Rs. 1,65,477

This tax in the Fortress is assessed at 4½ per cent per annum on the rateable value and in Sheikh Othman at 2¼ per cent and is collected to compensate for the vast conservancy services rendered by the Public Health Department. In Aden where few sewers exist, the daily removal of the sullage water and human waste from thousands of houses not connected to main drainage is a considerable task.